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ABSTRACT

This study is based on the general finding that the linguistic reality of a bilingual community is complex and that the two languages are not compartmentalized into any particular spheres of social life. It uses this finding to explore a theoretical position that treats facts regarding language functions and usage as if these, in and of themselves, could explain language shift, loss, or maintenance. By examining several defining criteria for diglossic and bilingual situations, it tests the theoretical power of the view that without diglossia, bilingualism is only transitional, and that with diglossia, the less politically powerful language or variety has a better chance of being maintained. In addition, problems of describing and analyzing language choice and vitality are raised as issues that need to be addressed, particularly in terms of data gathering techniques. Beyond empirical methods, problems of inquiry and analysis are examined, especially those based on abstraction divorced from socio-historical and economic conditions. (Author/AMH)

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RETHINKING DIGLOSSIA

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LANGUAGE POLICY TASK FORCE

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RETHINKING DIGLOSSIA*

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APRENDER A LUCHAR
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I

Lydia is an 18-year-old woman whose individual life history, though unique, is also very typical in terms of language experience for Puerto Ricans in New York City. She was born and raised in El Barrio, the next to the youngest daughter of four children. Spanish was spoken at home as a rule, with English heard only among the siblings. This generational language division requires accommodation and linguistic versatility, as will be indicated. Adults need to understand and defend themselves in English; children accomodate to Puerto Rican and New York street patterns; and two languages frequently encode a single conversation.

When I (Pedraza) first met Lydia about two years ago, as an adolescent she did not participate fully in the public social life of the block, principally because she had a boyfriend who lived in her old neighborhood a few blocks away. Though she knew people on her street, and had an uncle, aunt, and godfather in the area, except for family social activities which were not in public she had low visibility on the block, as do many in their mid-teens. But she was very much accepted and recognized, partly because she is an attractive young woman.

She dropped out of high school mainly because it seemed irrelevant to her at that time, and because of negative experiences such as having to sit on window sills due to overcrowding in the classroom. Experiences in the job market made

her realize the importance of an education, and persuaded her to look for an alternative way to continue her schooling; however, family problems prevented this when her mother became gravely ill.

After her mother's death, the siblings held the household together for some time, but it became impossible to stay together. They faced difficulties in finding a new apartment in an area with a housing shortage when the building they had resided in was abandoned by the landlord. Lydia became the guardian of her 11-year-old sister and has set up a separate apartment on the block within the past year. Her brother and sister moved out of the area. This change in roles, from adolescent and sister to head of household and guardian, due to circumstances that are common for people residing in East Harlem (health, housing, employment, and education), obviously has had serious consequences for Lydia. And these are also reflected in her language usage.

Two years ago when Lydia was still an adolescent (socially, because she still is chronologically), she spoke basically in English, as befits her student status and the norm of her peer group. With the exceptions of understanding all and using some Spanish in the home, and speaking it with older members of the community and any limited English speakers, she communicated mainly in English and paid little attention to developing her Spanish skills. Now, however, she is using Spanish much more, due to participation in different social networks. She is also

much more conscious of her Spanish skills and their development. Her changed situation places her in a more Spanish speaking milieu in the community, a common experience for those entering the adult world (see our previous work; Pedraza ms., Attinasi 1979, Language Policy Task Force 1980).

The reasons why the taking on of adult roles and responsibilities leads to increased Spanish usage are varied. The point to be made here is that a woman is today revitalizing and expanding her Spanish language skills out of necessity, and she views this as a positive change. The usual concepts of 'diglossia' and 'domain' neither help us describe nor understand the many complexities of this woman's linguistic life, and by extension, that of the community of which she is part. Before extrapolating, let us look at some language observations that are neither contrived, controlled or in response to an investigator's question.

Lydia was babysitting with two children (she often does this for extra income). She was sitting in the sun on the steps of the old police precinct building that now houses many community programs, and talking (in English) to a friend about her age when the grandmother of one of the children passed by across the street. She told the child (in Spanish; previously she had talked to her in English) that her *abuela* was nearby, calling her. She coaxed the child (code-switching between Spanish and English) to go see her grandmother. After yelling instructions for crossing the street in English, she finally had to take the

child across herself, greeted the grandmother (in Spanish), and had a short conversation with her (in Spanish). She left the child with the grandmother, came back across the street to her friend, and (in English) explained that the grandmother was sick and, (code-switching) expressed how sorry she felt for her.

On another occasion, Lydia was out for a walk with her boyfriend's niece with whom she sometimes babysits. It was about 10:00 in the evening, and many people were still outside, especially since it was a warm and pleasant night. She greeted me and asked me about my new apartment (in English). We talked and walked by the entrance to her building (a 5-story tenement walk-up). On the stoop were a woman and several men (two of whom were her godfather and his roommate). Having a few drinks and being a little boisterous, they were obviously enjoying themselves. Lydia turned to them and said (in Spanish), "What kind of example are you setting for the nice little girl I have in my company?" Then she turned to me and said (in English) that even for herself it was a bad example, and then she turned back and said the same to the adults (this time in Spanish).

We continued on down the block and sat down on the steps of another building. A man in his 30s greeted them, but this frightened the little girl. Lydia, who had addressed the little girl in English up to this point, used Spanish to try to convince her that the man was O.K. and that she shouldn't be afraid of him.

The speaker profile and short interaction sequences

described above are meant to illustrate the linguistic reality of a bilingual community which continues to maintain two languages are not compartmentalized into any particular spheres of social life. The purpose of this paper is to use that general finding to explore the inadequacies of a theoretical position that treats facts regarding language functions and usage as if these, in and of themselves, could explain language shift, loss, or maintenance. Specifically, it is our goal to rethink the several defining criteria for diglossic and bilingual situations, and to test the theoretical power of the view that without diglossia bilingualism is but transitional, and that with it, the less politically powerful language or variety has a better chance of being maintained. In addition, problems of describing and analyzing language choice and vitality are raised as issues that need to be addressed particularly in terms of data gathering techniques. Beyond empirical methods, this paper scrutinizes the problems of inquiry and analysis that are based on abstraction divorced from socio-historical and economic conditions.

II

> No one has ever thought to define a diglossic society as one in which there are a great number of illiterates! (Wexler 1971: 337)

In considering linguistic varieties in unequal contact situations, we may distinguish three kinds of functional stratification: (1) attitudes toward languages or varieties, (2) speakers' usage both in terms of range of abilities and history of usage, and (3) the political and cultural functioning of the languages. The concept of *diglossia* (a term similar to 'bilingual,' but using Greek etymology, *dís* 'twice' + *glōssa* 'tongue') has conveniently subsumed such linguistic stratification, and in addition, denotes several formal relations: (4) the distribution and choice of linguistic output, (5) the genetic affiliation of varieties, (6) their standardization through written norms, (7) speakers' access to literacy, and (8) norms of interaction and ways of speaking. These eight issues arise in any discussion of diglossia.

Diglossia was coined by the French Orientalist William Marçais in 1930, although English readers know it primarily through the seminal article by Charles Ferguson (1959). Interestingly, the Arabic situation, with multiple norms, stratification of linguistic function, wide disparities of social class, and a classical, standardized form of writing and speech (the H variety) opposed to a spoken vernacular (the L variety),

provides the key example for both Marçais and Ferguson.

Ferguson defines diglossia as "two or more varieties used by the same speakers under different conditions," ([1959] 1972: 232). In a disclaimer that precedes his exposition, he says that the concepts 'language, dialect, variety' and the terminological pair 'superposed/subordinate' are not precise. The superposed variety, for Ferguson, means a learned variety, "not the primary native variety" (*ibid.*, 233). Here lie the troublesome aspects of the application of diglossic separation to bilingualism, since in many cases -- and in most bilingual situations in the United States -- both languages are fully literate systems, usually with different histories. Except for indigenous languages, most subordinate varieties also are spoken by monolingual speech communities outside the situation of bilingual contact, e.g. in Latin America, Europe or Asia. And finally, the socially subordinate (L) variety enjoys wide ranges of spoken *and written* usages (in terms of genres, styles and functions).

Moreover, even though specialization of function, deferential attitudes and literary heritage give prestige to the (H) variety, Ferguson insists that the (L) variety is synchronically primary. That is, the spoken standard, or (H), derives generatively from the vernacular (L), especially regarding phonology, since it (the superposed variety) is not natively acquired. Thus, no only does the (H) variety seem to be somewhat of a lingua franca -- not learned during infant speech acquisition --

but it is also fundamentally conservative and archaic, since it is transmitted mainly through literature (Ferguson [1959] 1972: 241-245). Other scholars have treated diglossic stratification of varieties without a label, or called it 'polymorphism' (Lecerf 1932), or considered it to be simply 'bilingualism' (Vilenčik 1935, Ode-Vasil'eva (1965:571). Heinz Kloss calls the (L) variety half-speech *Halbsprachen* (1952:5, 102, 216). In characterizing the cultural and political differences between language varieties, he emphasizes the dynamic and dialectical relationship between spoken and written variants. The spoken (H) form, in addition to the social class of those who speak it, is a point of reference inasmuch as it imitates the written standard that is inaccessible to a large number of vernacular speakers. the spoken vernacular (L) form, emotionally more communicative and acquired first, continuously influences the spoken form of the written standard.

Just as Kloss may have had the Germanic dialects and High German most immediately in mind, Martinet (1963:154) uses the term *patois* for (L) varieties, arrogating all varieties in the Francophone sphere to extensions of French (whether they were Creole languages based on African grammatical structures, for example, Haitian, or parallel Romance languages, such as Gascon). Whatever the ralatively stable and functionally separated contact of language varieties may be called (Weinreich, Labov and and Herzog, 1969:148ff, alternately use the terms 'bilingualism, bi-dialectalism, bi-idiolectalism'), the concept of constrained

bilingualism has been useful to describe societies with languages in contact, and to account for the viability of the non-official varieties.

Nevertheless, a great amount of conceptual adaptation of the now traditional concept of diglossia is needed if it is to apply to the contact of non-mutually derived, full languages, especially if both are written and formally standardized. The analog of diglossia to bilingual situations was foreseen, but sidestepped, by Ferguson. Though he hinted at differential conditions of use as the key to understanding bilingual stratification in the last phrase of the following statement, the overall import is again a disclaimer:

> No attempt is made in this paper to examine the analogous situation where two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role. (Ferguson [1959], 1972:233)

Even with regard to the key example, Arabic, Kaye (1970) has found chinks in both status-related and functional kinds of supposed separation; the linguistic variability of both the classical and colloquial varieties likewise indicates that diglossia is an abstraction that needs rethinking.

III

> Bilingualism is a behavioral pattern of mutually modifying linguistic practices varying in degree, function, alternation and interference (Mackey 1968:556).
>
> Ah trow me kaan, me no call no fowl. (Bob Marley, "Who the cap fit, let them wear it.")

About ten years after Ferguson's article, Joshua Fishman's work (e.g., 1971:286-289) attempted to formalize the *compartmentalization* of different *bilingual functions* through the notion of *domains* and to theorize about the *predictive* value of the various combinations of *bilingualism* and *diglossia* with regard to language *maintenance*.

The typology of bilingualism with or without diglossia as proposed on several occasions (Fishman 1967, 1971, 1979) takes the form of a four-cell table of possibilities (see figure 1 in the Appendix). The italicized concepts above serve as the variables in deducing a measuring device for the characteristics of language contact situations.

Theoretically, the first possibility (bilingualism-cum-diglossia) has been associated with large stable bilingual or multilingual societies (e.g., India, Paraguay and Switzerland; societies in which there is a metalinguistic subsystem in the culture that highlights the appropriateness of varieties to be used in various situations; Paul Friedrich, personal

communication). A diglossic bilingual society should have social institutions or processes that (a) facilitate access to (b) a range of social roles that are (c) clearly differentiated (Fishman 1971:292). If the two linguistic varieties are to remain vuable then there should be two 'complementary value systems' and two sets of 'norm-bound and institutionalized behavioral activities,' in other words, two functionally separate spheres or sets of spheres in which the languages are spoken. These spheres are the 'domains' of each language. Whether treated as a technical concept (see Figure 2), or an ordinary-language notion of an 'area of social life' in which one language is most appropriate, 'domain' helps identify and distinguish the diglossic characteristics of a bilingual situation.

The second cell of the typology in Figure 1, bilingualism-sans-diglossia, has been usually seen as a temporary linguistic condition of communities in the process of language loss and shift, and might be best seen in societies undergoing rapid change, due, for instance to colonialism and labor migration (Dittmar 1976: 177-8). This is the condition of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Language distribution in the East Harlem block where Lydia lives appears to be without strict compartmentalization, yet several sociolinguistic features contradict the prediction that such bilingualism is in trasition. To sort out the paradox, it is necessary to examine closely the reasoning in the bilingualism-diglossia theory.

IV

> 'Social psychology,' removed from the actual process of verbal interaction, risks turning into the metaphysical or mythic concept of 'collective soul,' 'collective inner psyche,' or 'spirit of the people.' (Vološinov 1973:3)

That compartments can preserve a weak language, is the main proposition of the bilingualism-diglossia argument. "Under what circumstances," Fishman asks writing about bilingualism without diglossia (1971:295ff), "do bilinguals function without the benefit of a well understood and widely accepted social consensus" concerning choice of language dependent upon interlocutors, topic or purpose? When and how "do the varieties or languages involved lack well defined or protected functions?" The answer to these questions in the following passage is worth quoting at length because it presents key aspects of the prevailing view regarding bilingualism without diglossia.

> Briefly put, these are circumstances of rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones. Children typically become bilingual at a very early age, when they are still largely confined to home and neighborhood, since their elders (both adult and school age) carry into the domains of intimacy a language learned outside its confines. Formal institutions tend to render individuals increasingly monolingual in a language other than that of hearth and home...
>
> Under circumstances such as these no well established, socially recognized and protected functional differentiation of language obtains in many speech communities of the lower and lower middle classes. Dislocated immigrants and their children (for whom a separate

> "political solution" is seldom possible) are particularly inclined to use their mother tongue and other tongue for intra-group communication in *seemingly* random fashion (Fishman, Cooper and Ma 1968; Nahirny and Fishman 1965; Herman 1961). Since the formerly separate roles of the home domain, the school domain and the work domain are all disturbed by the massive dislocation of values and norms that result from simultaneous immigration and industrialization, the language of work (and of the school) comes to be used at home...
>
> Instead of two (or more) carefully separated languages each under the eye of caretaker groups of teachers, preachers and writers, several intervening varieties may obtain differing in degree of interpenetration. Under these circumstances the languages of immigrants may come to be ridiculed as "debased" and "broken" while at the same time their standard varieties are given no language maintenance support.
>
> Thus, bilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional both in terms of the linguistic repertoires of speech communities as well as in terms of the speech varieties involved per se. Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other (s). (Fishman 1971:297-298).

The long citation above presents the essential argument that Fishman has published frequently over the last dozen years. Even in two recent publications (Fishman and Markman 1979, Fishman 1980), the same four-cell (± bilingualism, ± diglossia) grid appears. Although the discussion is preceded by qualifiers ("Both bilingualism and diglossia are continuous variables," and "The relationship between bilingualism and diglossia is far from being necessary or causal," Fishman 1979: 90,85), the theory is still cast in discrete, dichotomous terms; the conclusion again insists that diglossia is the means of maintaining

a language. Each language should be enshrined in its own compartments, and conversely the lack of successful compartmentalization we are told, will result in a "fleeting functional redundancy" which soon dissolves into language shift (*ibid.*, 94-5).

Were the qualifications noted above taken seriously, the theoretical approach to bilingualism under discussion would not be able to remain so static and *a priori*. Rather, the possibility of a typology of diglossia or a bilingual continuum such as that proposed by Wexler (1971), Diebold (1964), Greenberg (1964) or Mackey (1968) among others, would figure more intimately in the analysis. It is not theory or the deductive process in itself that we object to here, it is rather an idealized conception of theory that sets itself apart from concrete social relations, instead of attempting to penetrate them. Theoretical explanation involves, among other things, the demonstration that a given condition follows necessarily from other things, and as an abstractive process involves 'taking out' unique and necessary elements from common and contingent ones (Bohm 1957). The process of explanatory theory-building should attempt to hypothesize the causal conditions of regular occurrences, and test the predictions about regularities by observation or experiment. In this way, theory is both inductive and deductive.

There seems to be an elusive quality in Fishman's argument since he emphasizes the necessary aspects of compartmentalization,

watchful guardianship against interpenetration and the like, yet denies that he ever thought separation of varieties (the diglossic characteristic *par excellence*) was causally related to language maintenance. He even cites his benchmark article in the *Journal of Social Issues* (1967), an early formulation of the bilingualism-diglossia theory, as an indication that the disclaimer is not new. But the way the disclaimer is reconciled with the exposition (namely, that separation is indeed regularly, or necessarily or causally connected to bilingual maintenance) involves an even more serious retreat from the concrete. His reasoning is thus: "the relationship of diglossia and bilingualism is but one more example of the weak relationship obtaining between various *individual* social behaviors and their corresponding *societal* counterparts." (Fishman 1979:86)

There is a near-contradiction between the distinction of the 'individual' from the 'societal' which that last sentence draws and the term 'individual social' that appears in it. But even more crucially, the overall import of the statement as a whole forces a decision: that is, a decision as to which kind of social science is most valuable, one that connects individual actions to social conditions or one that denies such connections. The passage from Vološinov at the head of this section applies directly to that decision. 'Societal counterparts' to individual behaviors are just that, or they are nothing at all; they have social factuality because they strongly correspond to what individuals do. And from the other direction (the deductive),

to quote Vološinov again: "The immediate social situation and the broader social milieu wholly determine--and determine from within, so to speak--the structure of an utterance" (1973:4).

In this kind of social linguistics, the societal interacts with the individual, and the individual is a microcosm of both the broad and immediate linguistic organization of a community. Theory, in this view, attempts to abstract concrete relationship from social action, and assign connections of a causal, contingent nature--and even the role of chance--to observable and natural social action.

Summing up this part of our argument, it appears, on the level of theory, that diglossia does not adapt neatly to bilingual situations, and that bilingualism-diglossia has only weak explanatory power. It is valuable to turn next to the level of method and examine techniques and research used in testing these theories. In this connection, our argument is informed by the experiences of speakers such as Lydia. More generally, the next several sections will indicate work that may be seen either as part of the alternative kind of social linguistics we feel is needed, or at least as part of the critique of the bilingualism-diglossia theory. Two issues that pervade this work are perhaps the most interesting practical matters in the study of bilingual communities: how are varieties chosen in actual interaction? and how may minority languages survive in contact situations?

V

> Sociolinguistic domains are societal constructs derived from painstaking analysis of patently congruent situations. (Fishman 1971:248)
>
> The men and the dogs were talking to each other. In distinctive voices they were saying distinctive, complicated things. That long *yah* sound was followed by a specific kind of howl from one of dogs... It was what there was before language. Before things were written down. (Toni Morrison 1977:277)

Below the level of written speech, different from and more textured than recollections of speaking and articulated norms, the dense, variable and frequent habit of speech constitutes a large portion of social action. If the interaction between hunters and dogs on a scent is distinctive and complicated, even more so is the verbal interaction among people. The problem for social linguistic science is to account for the concrete choices which, of all the 'infinite' possible utterences in numerous situations, actually occur in natural discourse. Bilingual abilities add the dimension of code choice to the complex conditions that may account for the actual speech uttered in any given instance. this section explores the background and content of the term 'domain,' which is central to the diglossia-bilingualism paradigm, as part of the general problem of explaining the contextual constraints on language variability, especially where

code choice is involved.

John Gumperz had earlier begun to provide the framework for theorizing about multi-lingual contact in his work on India and Norway (1964a, b). In developing the notions *verbal repertoire* and *interactional variety*, he noted that, in some cases, an interactional variety may be a language and in others a dialect. In addition, in identifying the important socio-linguistic skills used in variety (or language) choice, Gumperz began to forge a method to study the compartmentalized norms or 'domains' that correlated with varieties within the verbal repertoire. It is in this connection that he suggested two important types of switching, of either codes, dialects or styles: personal (later to become 'metaphorical') switching, and interactional (later to become 'situational') switching. The first concept has spawned a great number of empirical studies of code switching within and beyond the notion of personal or stylistic choice (Pfaff 1975, Timm 1975, Gumperz 1976, Valdez-Fallis 1976, Wentz 1977, Poplack 1979, Sankoff and Poplack 1980).

The second concept, situational switching, more directly applies to diglossic separation, since it concerns language choice according to speakers' categorization of the broader linguistic environment and of the immediate context of social interaction. The situation itself, in this view, could constrain a bilingual or multilingual speaker to utilize a delimited portion of his or her linguistic competence, switching varieties as the situation changed. To study the kinds of

interactional situations, or 'domains' of conventionalized behavior would thus enable communicative competence to be described. By derivation from this idea, the study of language choice could be directly aided by the study of such categories, presuming in this reasoning that codes are separated. Today, greater knowledge of variation and less confidence in models that pretend to map patterns in the mind of the cultural 'actor' call that chain of reasoning into question. But componential science seemed viable at the time, and the analysis of conceptual categories was approached via "three factors (a) knowledge of communicative intent, (b) setting, and (c) possible identity relationships" (Gumperz [1967] 1971:224-5); in other words, 'domain' was composed of intentionality, situation and roles. Setting, however, came to be used most frequently as the operational definition of domain, first because it was most accessible, second, because the assignment of intentionality is both practically and philosophically problematic, and third, because role relationships are nearly always multiple in face-to-face behavior, therefore also subject to varying possible interpretations.

In other, more complex versions of the factors influencing language choice, 'domain' is partly social situation, partly behavioral rule, constrained by 'value clusters.' As can be seen in Figure 2 of the Appendix, setting was only part of the social situation, and 'time,' meaning perhaps both the historical dimension as well as situational time-of-day, was also somehow

included. Network, role and interaction type, other diverse, nondiscrete and indeterminate (or non-finite) components also constrain speech in Cooper 's algorithm of social constructs (1969:202). The very characteristics of fuzziness, multiplicity, diversity and interaction--precisely the kinds of contingencies which approximate the density and textured complexity of interaction in, for example, a bilingual community like East Harlem--came to be neglected, or at best simplified, in social psychological experiments. Such experiments concerned with language choice supported the bilingualism-diglossia theory through multivariate analysis.

In brief, domain was taken to mean only setting (actually only a handful of domains are usually identified), and setting was seen to account for situational language choice by bilinguals. Through such reductionism, the inclination to see each language protected by norms of situational switching in the repertoire of speech, was reinforced. The construct of 'domain,' then, should be seen as but one of the components of choice, and refers at best to much more than setting; but in many concrete investigations it was reduced to setting alone and used as the determining factor in compartmentalized language choice.

VI

> There is no harm in trying to push the available tools of our discipline as far as possible. The danger, however lies in a form of scientism which believes that a subject matter must be explainable exclusively by the tools of our limited sub-discipline simply because that phenomenon happens to reach partly into its realm. (Wölck 1978:212f).

In the work derived from this paradigm--coding interaction, designing experimental instruments to be filled out by research subjects, constructing binary factors to be analyzed by computers--the subtlety of the numerous sociolingusitic constraints on choice of code or variety was often reduced to one of the elements, setting.

Qualifications and caveats abound recognizing the mitigating circumstances in concrete situations and exceptions to the "clear-cut, polarized 'usual,' situations governed neatly by sociolinguistic norms" (Fishman 1971:253). But in the end, the associations tested in the data reduce to but weak remnants of the theoretical positions they were meant to test. Again, the fundamental problem is that this kind of science simplifies social interaction.

Within the two basic methods in socio-linguistic research--micro-analysis, an inductive observational process, and macro-analysis, which implements deductively derived concepts through

the examination of large aggregates--the data and how they are gathered, organized and analyzed differ radically. In the latter approach, the direct observation of language performance is displaced by indirect measures of language use derived from surveys and experiments. These include retrospective self-report, ideal judgements, hypothetical situations and experimental routines in which subjects choose the best 'fit' of the variables presented. Seldom is attention given to the frequent equivalence of variable choice and findings; the selection of stimuli, often based on guesses (Hartup 1968:25), is often the most important of all factors.

Fishman's study of bilingual speech behavior among Puerto Ricans in New Jersey (Fishman et al. 1971) relied upon indirect measures of language usage. The data used to confirm the constructs of domain and diglossia were gathered indirectly and either represent the speaker's concept of ideal language behavior, or rely upon the speaker's ability to judge behavior, or to react according to social norms in a hypothetical situation.

Aguirre (1976) has criticized three studies, undertaken by Fishman and his associates, which attempt to examine the nature of language choice among Puerto Rican speakers using the construct of domain. Aguirre indicates that the current state of the field accepts: 1) 'role-relations, setting and topic' as variables useful for explaining language choice and that 2) each variable "...is assumed to have an effect on language choice that can be measured and analyzed independent of the others."

(*ibid.*: 5) Furthermore, he argues that Fishman used the concept of domain "...to examine and relate individual momentary language choice to relatively stable patterns... in the bilingual community as a whole" (*ibid.*: 9).

Summarizing Aguirre's extended critique, in the first study it appears that although English pertains to the school domain and Spanish to the home domain, the interaction between domain and language was not corroborated (Fertig and Fishamn 1969:245,-249). In a second study (Kimple, Cooper and Fishman 1969), although students associated Spanish with the older generation and family matters generally, neither English in this domain nor Spanish in more public interactions seems unnatural. In a third study (Fishman and Greenfield 1970), norms of language choice were found to relate to differences in person, place and topic. Among other criticisms, Aguirre concluded that despite the methods which simplify the complexity of language choice in the situation of speaking, diglossia was not found; and second, that despite the need to have similar research accumulate knowledge, even work by the same theoretician did not accrue a single body of conclusions to advance socio-linguistic science.

The close scrutiny of research within the paradigm of diglossia-bilingualism reveals that a correlational or a factor analytic matrix may reveal very broad patterns of behavior, but in doing so may mask some of the more subtle variation within those patterns which could lead to a better understanding of

why the behavior takes place. For instance, the differential use of two languages in one or another setting may represent a fairly common occurrence that could hold up under correlational analysis. Yet Lance (1975) has shown us that it is the generational relationship of the speakers, motivated by socio-historical events, which determines language choice among Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, rather than domain alone. Similarly, Gumperz (1964b) has neatly documented the differential use of Bokmal and Rijksmal in Hemnes, Norway as a function of socio-political events. Choice among languages in contact cannot be fully understood by the theory of domain when contributing factors have been reduced to appropriate person, place, time and topic, or worse, to setting alone.

VII

> When a group speaking low (L) is eager for socioeconomic advancement, and the group in charge of the means of production uses the high (H) as a means (or barrier) to that advancement, the path of least resistance is to accept the high language along with high speech events. (Eckert ms.: 10)

Instead of retreating into an abstract sociology in which the condition of speakers is irrelevant (they either follow the rule or are exceptions proving it), micro-analysis in the form of ethnography--both of speech communities and of the social connections of individuals' speech--can provide concrete information about the social interplay of language varieties, ideology and history in the contact situation. This is especially important with regard to the survival of languages in minority communities, or as it has been termed, language maintenance or language vitality. Here we intend to test the statement that diglossia is the means whereby bilingualism can be maintained.

Despite Martinet's (1963) dictum that bilingualism is an individual phenomenon and diglossia a societal one, Eckert (ms.:4) insists that community diglossia with bilingualism cannot exist "unless the bilingual individuals themselves experience diglossia in their own speech habits. The fate of an individual's bilingualism, then, is closely tied up with that of the community, and diglossia has a very personal effect on

bilingual individuals." Eckert analyzed a community in the Occitanie of southern France that spoke Gascon, and despite (perhaps even because of) efforts to establish diglossia with French, is losing its distinctive language. She notes that "the very division of linguistic labor that facilitated the entry of French into the community" (*ibid.*: 10), was the vehicle for acquiring a new self-image. The passage of the head of this section indicates the rationale frequently accompanying diglossia. Hungarians in Austria described by Susan Gal (1979) seem to have followed a similar path of changing self-image through language, and her analysis even more strongly emphasizes the economic dimension. For, as Hungarian farmers become industrial workers, they are shifting language. For both these cases, Eckert's analysis seems correct: "The process that this community underwent was a logical outcome of the assumption that use of a high language will provide access, acceptance and adequacy in the wider society" (Eckert ms.: 10). This frequent assimilationist pathway, leads via diglossia to the eventual diminution of the number of compartments reserved for the low (L) variety, or to the atrophy of those compartments. Eckert explains how this happens:

> Those speakers who have more opportunity to participate in (H) variety speech events will tend to be the more successful, and the opposition between their personal qualities and those of the rest of the low (L) speaking population will become associated with the social meaning of the two languages. The next step is for the speaker of high to extend the need for high into previously low events. This is concurrent with a growing tendency for speakers of low to elevate these very events by using high in them. This in turn

> reflects negatively on the events that remain low: the low gradually retreats into increasingly powerless domains, and--more insidiously--stigmatizes these domains by their association with the low language. (Eckert ms.: 10)

In brief, regional poverty made learning French a survival mechanism. But along with French came changed attitudes toward what was Gascon. Rather than seeing compartmentalization as the key to survival in contemporary society Eckert asserts that any gain for the high must be a loss for the low. Speakers in New York, however, rather than compartmentalizing their use of Spanish and English, seem to be avoiding the high-low dichotomy, and extending their bilingual use both ways--using English in many settings considered to be private, and Spanish in many considered public.

To take the usual set of domains (as enumerated by Schmidt-Rohr (1963), Gumperz (1967) or Fishman (1971): Home, Neighborhood School, Church, Workplace, Official interaction), and describe the distribution of language within them would take more space than we have. The portrait of Lydia which opened this paper and other findings of our interdisciplinary sociolinguistic project in East Harlem, become relevant here.

The observations of Lydia's speech behavior at the opening of this article illustrate that in one particular domain, that of neighborhood or community, there is no compartmentalization, i.e., both languages are constantly used alternately and even simultaneously. Ethnographic observations have shown that in

at least three other domains the same pattern prevails (Pedraza ma., Language Policy Task Force, forthcoming). In school bilingual programs, type of activity, changing friendships and in-classroom/out of classroom variables affect the compartmentalization of English. In the home, siblings, friendships and of course, television, affect the exclusive use of Spanish. In official settings, bilinguals occasionally claim no knowledge of English so that, by means of an interpreter they can follow the negotiation better and can eavesdrop on the discussion of their case which they supposedly cannot understand, or switch to Spanish to convey information to each other surreptitiously. (Pedraza ms.; Bonnie Urciuoli, personal communication).

Moreover, there are members of the community for whom the simultaneous use of both languages actually is their main mode of communication. The code-switching, however, whether intra- or inter-sentential, does not violate the grammar of either language, and only the most fluent bilinguals use the most complicated form, i.e., intrasentential (Poplack 1979). Almost all members of the community have some degree of bilingual skills; at a minimum, only a passive knowledge of one of the two languages (Spanish for some of the adolescents, English for the older monolingual Spanish speakers), and at best almost complete command of both languages with control of dialects, registers and styles. Everyone has at least productive competence in Spanish phonology (Pedraza ms.). For most of the community these are skills acquired outside of any formal means of education or

language instruction, and without diglossia. Linguistic studies of Spanish speech recorded in natural settings as well as in interviews reveals that the basic grammatical system is unchanged (Pousada and Poplack 1979), though there is phonological and lexical variation from the standard. In other words, morphological, syntactic, and semantic studies have corroborated the bilingual nature of the community postulated from observational data. The dialect features are due to the characteristics of Puerto Rican Spanish and not to any English interference (Poplack 1980).

In an attitude survey done on a sample from the same population, the great majority of members of the community expressed a recognition of, for example, frequent alternation between the languages, and numerous loanwords, but these aspects of language cause no discomfort (Attinasi 1979). An observation relevant to the question of language maintenance and language shift is the fact that most younger Puerto Ricans of the third generation prefer English (Pedraza ms.). However, there is some evidence of a life cycle factor: when adolescents enter into young adult roles they appear to speak more Spanish. This may not be sufficient to reverse the shift to English preference evident from this segment of the community, but could be instrumental in maintaining bilingualism. Thus, the analysis of a Puerto Rican community in New York City indicates that a minority language is being maintained, despite the lack of evidence of diglossia.

VIII

> There is a Spanish-speaking historical continuity of 350 years across political sovereignties... Spanish speakers in the U.S. are the northern-most segment of over 200 million Spanish speakers in Latino América. (Macías 1979:50)

The previous section argued that some bilingual situations with diglossia are transitional, and that at least one--which we have analyzed in some detail without finding diglossia--is being maintained. With bilingual education and the increasing importance of Latin America in world politics and the economy of the Hemisphere, and with the influx of Spanish speakers from the Caribbean, Central and South America, it appears that other factors can explain the maintenance of Spanish better than compartmentalization by domains.

In contemporary society, literacy is, of course, one of the most important factors and necessary skills for linguistic vitality. Both Kloss (1952) and Wexler (1971) emphasize the role of literate varieties in the standardization of language and in the dialectic between vernacular and written varieties that yields the spoken standard. A typology of literary languages has been proposed by Wexler (1971) in which there may be one or several standards of literature, as well as several vernacular varieties or dialects. Adapting this typology to the situation of Spanish, it seems that two superordinate varieties exert a standardizing pressure on the

Puerto Rican sociolinguistic situation in New York. These are written English and written Spanish. Prounounciation variations, whether regional or social, cannot affect this level. Spoken dialects may in some way correspond to the written standards, but since speakers' competences are multiple and not entirely over-lapping, they connect in various ways (to each other and) to the respective written forms (see Figure 3 in the Appendix).

We might hypothesize that the written standard forms of English and Spanish (Se, Ss) and the corresponding formal spoken dialects (with regional variation)are in a dynamic relation with several spoken vernaculars. Speakers have varying access to the spoken varieties and written styles: (Dv) represents New York's or other local vernaculars; (Db) is the speech of American Blacks; (Dp) the speech of Puerto Ricans raised speaking English; (Dc,x,w) are varieties of code-switching; (Dn) is the Spanish of New York City; (Dj) is a more rural style of Puerto Rican speech, (Du) represents urban Puerto Rican Spanish. None of these varieties are simple, and their characteristics are not equally established. the overall import remains, nonetheless, that with access to mass media, both written and electronic, the verbal repertoire of many speakers may be modeled as sustaining several influences different in content and kind.

Even if there is a way to salvage the diglossic analysis of bilingualism, it will have to take into consideration (a) the role of literacy, (b) the various Latin American standards of Spanish spoken by educated persons of the various Hispanophone

regions and nations, and (c) the dynamic processes of interaction between the various levels (H and L, or S and D) and, in a bilingual context, between the two codes. The typology suggests the nature of the complex sociolinguistic situation that occurs in contemporary Spanish-English bilingualism in New York, the U.S., and more generally, in much of the Americas today, under conditions of advanced international exchange and media and print literacy.

Other factors to consider in the search for ways to understand language maintenance have been offered by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). Literacy contributes to both the status of a language and the institutional support that may attend it. In addition, status variables of an economic, social and sociohistorical kind within the ethnolinguistic group may contribute to the linguistic status of the language or varieties that group uses, and to the attitudes about the language and its speakers held both by outsiders and by the members of the group itself. Language demography, emphasized by Macías in the opening passage of this section, contains several aspects under the two general categories of distribution and numbers. Both the ethno-linguistic group and its language or varieties also exhibit greater vitality, or survival chances, if a number of formal and informal institutions support its membership and its characteristic ways of acting and interacting (see Figure 4 in the Appendix, from Giles et al. 1977:309). This last set of variables, social institutions, sounds somewhat like 'domains,' but their part in

the overall maintenance of the language or group is limited and contextualized within other sociohistorical variables. The schema for ethnolinguistic vitality is a heuristic device, it does not have any pretenses of being an explanatory or predictive one.

IX

> There is a difference between multilingualism or bilingualism in which the speaker uses the languages he knows for all purposes, and multilingualism in which each language fills diverse functions which are not entirely overlapping. (Even-Zohar 1970:443)
>
> The usable sign - the fusion of formal element and meaning - is a product of the continuing speech activity between real individuals who are in some continuing social relationship... into which individuals are born and within which they are shaped, but to which they then also actively contribute... This is at once their socialization and individuation: the connected aspects of a single process. (Williams 1977:37)

Bilingualism is not only an individual psychological phenomenon. If it were, then the competence-based terms 'compound/coordinate' might exhaust the meaning of Even-Zohar's statement, and the complex and changing aspects of the bilingualism of young adult Puerto Ricans like Lydia might be dismissed as

isolated and idiosyncratic. Research and theorizing regarding bilingualism, however, have advanced the understanding of seemingly random bilingual variation, and replaced postulates of language anarchy (even pathological lack of language as expressed in terms like 'alingualism, semilinguism or nolinguismo') with sociolinguistic explanation. Social and linguistic analyses have provided an empirical base for the theoretical refinement of widely held notions about describing and predicting language use in contact situations.

Constraints on language choice in a bilingual situation exist, undeniably. It is an assumption of science that behavior has a structure, that language is not produced randomly. But the rules underlying natural interaction are extremely complex. The context of situation (Firth 1968), the domain of interaction (Gumperz 1964a), and the background and immediate constraints on language choice (Herman 1961) are but some of the shorthands to aid in the description of the elements involved in the choice of language in interaction. Natural speech occurs in a manner even more complex than these shorthands suggest, since variants of the two languages, the possibility of bilingual communication in code-switching, and many other socially-meaningful choices (from lexicon to phonological style) are involved in interaction. And added to the linguistic levels, perhaps underlying them, operate political and cultural forces. As Aguirre has said (1976:2), "In a bilingual setting language is not merely a medium for content, but is itself a referent, a source of meaning and group

identity."

The issues of language stratification and choice, to say nothing of the ultimate question of vitality of a language cannot be sufficiently explained using the classical versions of the bilingualism/diglossia matrix of concepts. Rather, although some settings have languages associated with them, they may frequently exhibit the less expected language, and the lack of separation in itself need not signal the demise of the language. In some settings, switching--necessitating the maintenance of both languages--is the norm. Individuals, not as unique atoms, but as concrete personifications and embodiments of group values, social forces, and of the history and functioning of language, are key to the understanding of language choice in interaction. In fact, the use of language in a given setting may change over time, responsive to changes in roles, responsibilities, and even friendships, as the speech of Lydia and other young adults clearly demonstrates.

In short, there must be a way to describe and explain the distribution of several varieties in a multi-lingual or bilingual situation, but the construct of domain within the framework of bilingualism-cum-diglossia is not it. Language stratification, contextual constraints on speech and language vitality remain the most interesting bilingual phenomena to be described from a socialinguistic perspective. Theoretical considerations such as those of Wexler, Cooper and Giles (among others) seem to be more valuable in reassessing the relationship of literacy to the

theory of diglossia, delineating situational speech choices and measuring linguistic vitality in contact situations.

Our observations of language use in a Puerto Rican neighborhood over the several years have demonstrated that in East Harlem both languages are used for all types of communication by many speakers. It is even the case that for many the simultaneous use of both languages in the same discourse setting, conversation, and utterance is not unusual. In fact, it may be the most appropriate type of speech behavior a member of the community can exhibit in very informal public settings, particularly where participants vary in their productive linguistic abilities (Pedraza ms.). Code-switching, therefore as a mode of communication--preferred by some, utilized to some extent by most, and accepted by nearly all--very clearly represents the non-separation of the languages by speakers in this community.

It has been predicted (as we have argued in section IV) that if the languages of a bilingual community are not 'carefully separated' by speakers, the resultant 'interpenetration,' creates varieties claimed to be 'debased' and 'broken'. The linguistic analysis of code-switching recorded in the natural setting has shown that claims of language debasement are unfounded. On the contrary, for most of the community, code-switching serves to expland their communicative and expressive needs and not restrict communication or cause a breakdown. The use of the different types of code-switching is related at least in part to speakers' linguistic competence, and most importantly, in no case is the

grammaticality of the constituent languages compromised. Moreover, although there is a shift in relative language proficiency across generations, Spanish is still unequivocally identified with Puerto Rican culture, and verbal skills in Spanish are not lost (Language Policy Task Force 1980). To some extent these skills revive as the members of the younger generation become adults (Lydia's experience is a good example of this).

It is obvious to us, therefore, that the lack of functional compartmentalization of the languages of a bilingual community can coexist with language maintenance. In fact, language shift (in terms of changing relative proficiency) and language maintenance are found together in this Puerto Rican neighborhood of New York City, but no diglossia. Theories based on an idealized sociology of language are contradicted and confused by these findings. Such theoretical difficulties demand the examination of determining social factors that are neglected or masked in many sociological and sociolinguistic treatments.

In conclusion, we have argued here:

1. that diglossia does not always result in language maintenance and that concepts grounded in social processes are needed to explain language vitality;

2. that the concept of bilingualism with diglossia rests on the inexact notion of domain which addresses but does not resolve the issues of language choice in daily interaction;

3. that diglossia may better describe a situation where a literate standard does not represent any speaker's vernacular

(though still not explaining how this may come about), and is problematic when applied to multilingual or bilingual speech communities;

4. that code-switching, while exhibiting the most initimate kind of language interpenetration, does not result in language disentegration or loss (it may even sustain bilingual skills);

5. that even if languages were functionally separated in the speech of daily life, structural diglossia does not explain why this is so, and thereby neglects the examination of social processes that can explain the consequences, whether loss or maintenance, of such language separation; and finally,

6. that research which posits an idealized reality, conceptualizing language outside of historical and social processes, is erroneous and will lead to empty and faulty theorizing.

We signal the following initiatives in an alternative approach to language study: (a) the recognition that communities are molded by historical and socio-economic conditions, (b) the need to study linguistic processes derived from these conditions in the communicative ecology of a community; and (c) the understanding that such conditions and processes are the most significant variables in the language situation. Sociolinguistic study must be concrete since these conditions themselves may either contradict or reinforce each other in different groups, at different times or at the various levels of policy, ideology and behavior.

Without such a dialectical and concrete approach, the divorce of language from the social and historical conditions which impinge upon it will automatically foreclose the theoretical understanding of processes that are instrumental in language loss, shift, or maintenance. The stratification of language varieties in society needs to be investigated as a problem, not a given.

In addition to whatever merit this essay may have in critically rethinking the theoretical and methodological aspects of bilingualism in a diglossic framework, some practical implications should also emerge. Discussions of educational policy and language planning have frequently operated on the assumption that bilingual diglossia presents the best alternative in an unequal contact situation between linguistic groups. Policy implementation, materials preparation and classroom practice that impose diglossic separation without questioning the compartmentalization of varieties, the attitudes and resources concerning literacy and speech, and the areas of language in which either code or both simultaneously are viable modes of social interaction, may be relegating minority languages to increasingly diminished roles, in terms of both function and status. In attempting to protect minority cultures and languages with boundaries that purport to give autonomy and insure national rights, language planning might instead actually be hedging in the development of national or ethno-linguistic groups, fossilizing nationality into irrelevant pluralism.

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APPENDIX

BILINGUALISM	DIGLOSSIA +	DIGLOSSIA -
+	1. Diglossia and Bilingualsim	2. Bilingualism without Diglossia
-	3. Diglossia without Bilingualism	4. Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism

Figure 1
Four-cell matrix of Bilingualism and Diglossia.

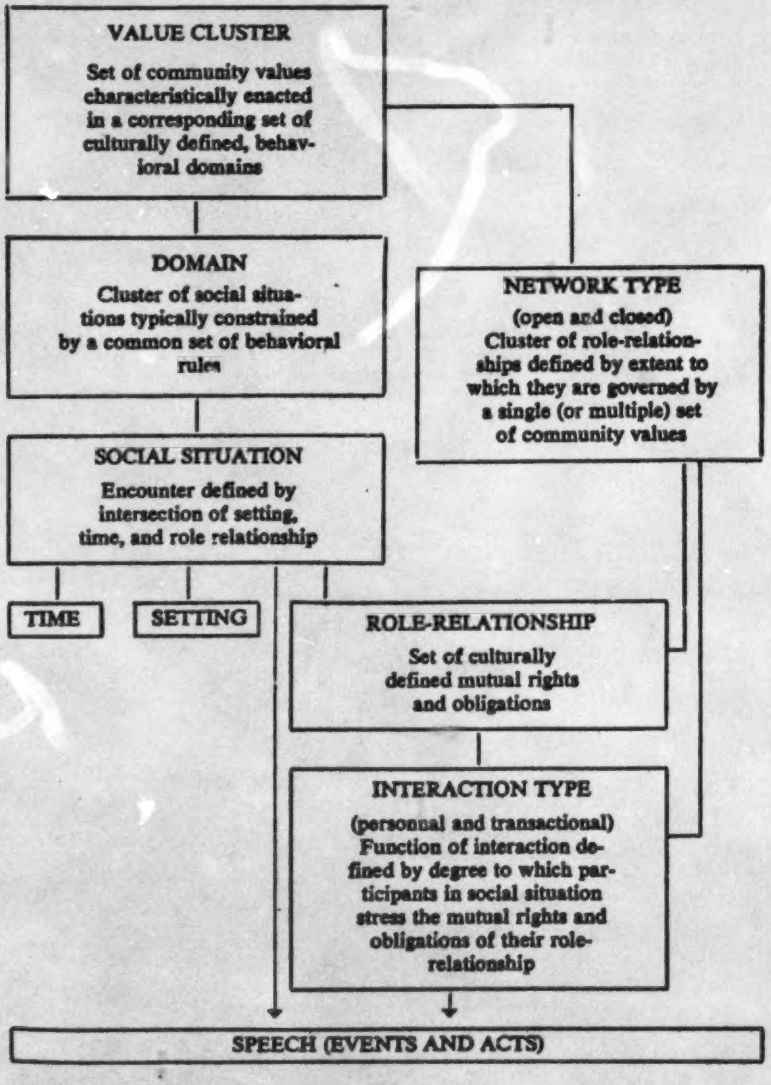
VALUE CLUSTER
Set of community values characteristically enacted in a corresponding set of culturally defined, behavioral domains
DOMAIN
Cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules
NETWORK TYPE
(open and closed)
Cluster of role-relationships defined by extent to which they are governed by a single (or multiple) set of community values
SOCIAL SITUATION
Encounter defined by intersection of setting, time, and role relationship
TIME
SETTING
ROLE-RELATIONSHIP
Set of culturally defined mutual rights and obligations
INTERACTION TYPE
(personnal and transactional)
Function of interaction defined by degree to which participants in social situation stress the mutual rights and obligations of their role-relationship
SPEECH (EVENTS AND ACTS)

Figure 2
Relationships among some constructs employed in sociolinguistic analysis. (Cooper 1969:202)

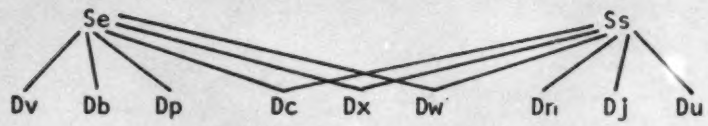

Figure 3
A Polyglossic Model for English, Code-switching and Spanish in El Barrio (after Wexler 1971).

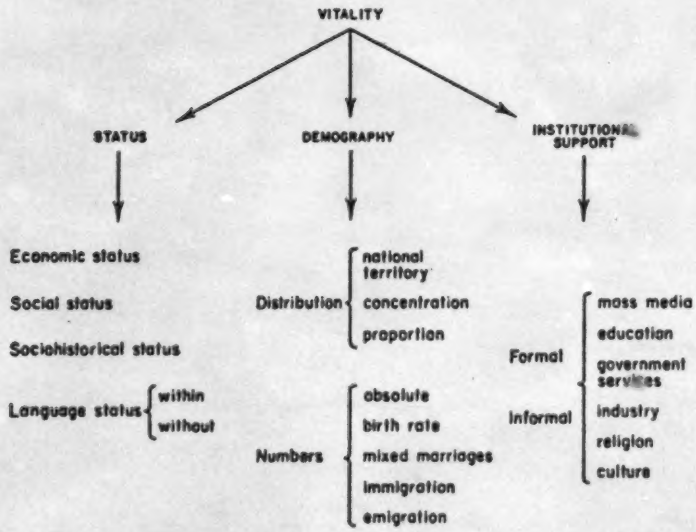

Figure 4
A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality. (Giles et al. 1977:309)